1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'eu peti''li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba''lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muee''gau nu''ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes
[462] pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'saft. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gūm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darū tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

342

Figure 1. Washo slab house made of lumber in the same manner as were the old bark slab houses. End view showing the covered doorway.

Figure 2. Side view of the same house shown in fig. 1 and showing its elliptical ground plan.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE III.

342 Figure 1. Washo brush house.

412 Figure 2. Washo boulder mortar and cobble stone pestle.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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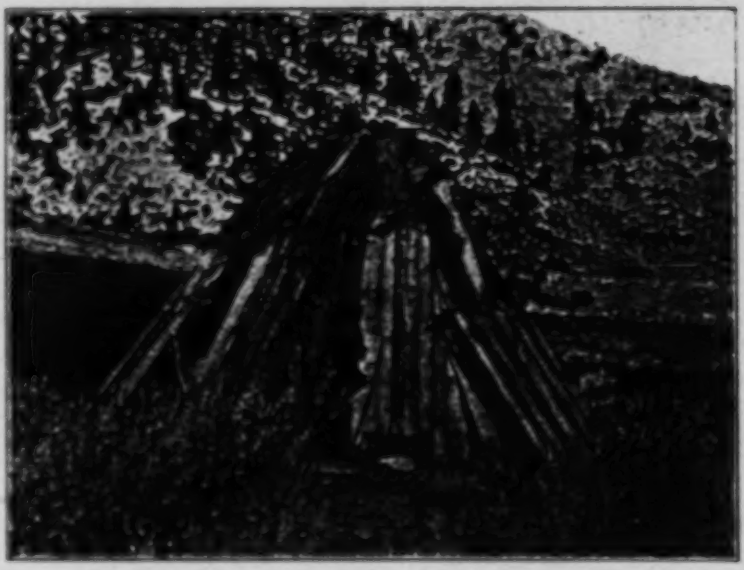

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[P.31]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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1

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[P. 33]

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 [795] [756] This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[787] 776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[342] [177] [434] [177]

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[611] [581] [1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[P. 399, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
[221] donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'sdaq'l--a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'sdaq'l made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
the beginning of the century. In the 1920's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the
764 government. No longer permitted to move about the
768 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
178 more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
[656] justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[1]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[1] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

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and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin.

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (w¢lyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dip¢k) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglel¢l tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolel¢l tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgumsčwč), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak bčhčsing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [758]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

237
Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical 513
houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather 342
while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the 592
basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared 22
together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was 462
some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the [463]
baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of 43
Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. 433
The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them [161]
the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less [439]
trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language [423]
isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips [251]
and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The 114
data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174]
unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

PLATE V 1/1

342
291
415

a. Winter house and baskets.

342
291
482
854

b. Summer shelter.

291
516
524

c. Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

These photographs were taken by Omer Stewart in Modoc territory, 1937 and 1938.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[End Plate V]

171

secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

361
311
[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

172

[114]
[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

[317]
[312]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

172
226
[221]

> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Ki	Ki	Ki	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ig	Wd	Ki	AK
558. Feet dried	+	–	+	–	–	–	°+	–	°+	°+	–	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	°–	+	+	–	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	+	–	+	+
°562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
563. In basket	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
566. Pair forked sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°568. Boiling in pot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	–	–	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	+	–
°HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	–	–
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Sun Shade														
°582. Brush or tree only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
°583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
584. Posts: 6-8	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
584a. Any number	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
586. Side walls: 1	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
586a. More than 1	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
588. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
589. For winter use	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	+	°–	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594a. 8-10	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
595a. 14-20	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
598. Layers of grass (mulava)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	°+	°+	°+	°+	–	+	°+	°+	+	–	+
600. Mat	–	–	–	°+	°+	°+	°+	–	+	°+	°+	+	–	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	°+	–	+
606a. Opposite wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	–	°+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

N W A
251
252
N
266
N
342

[p.377]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 342

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	K2	Kk	To	Ts	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Kl	Ag
608. Door: of twined bark	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
608a. Of twined tule	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
609. Of twined grass	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
609a. Of tule bound between pairs of sticks	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
610. Floor covered with grass	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
611. Fire: indoors, center of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
612. Outside house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
613. In hollow pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	–	+	+	–	+
614. Smoke hole in roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
615. Tripod-Foundation House	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	•	–	–	•	+	–
616. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
617. For winter use	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
618. Foundation poles in tripod	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
619. Forked poles interlock	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
620. Tied at intersection	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
*622. Cone-shaped House, Circular Ground Plan	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•	•	–
623. Height, 10 feet	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
624. Diameter, 15 feet	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
625. Exterior encircled with stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
626. Covering	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
627. Tule	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
628. Bark	–	–	–	•	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	•	–
629. Grass: 2 layers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•	–
629a. 3 layers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
630. Twined sage-bark mats	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
631. Mats	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•	•	–
631a. Buffalo skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
632. Pole-thatch hinders	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
*633. Earth (entirely)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
635. Pine "sod"	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
635a. Brush	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
637. Doorway	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
638. E side of house	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	•	–	–
639. Flush with wall	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
640. Vestibule or tunnel	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
642. Height (feet): 4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
642a. More than 4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
643. Door	–	–	–	+	–	–	•	–	•	–	–	+	+	–
644. Of mat	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
645. Of skin	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
646. Of brush	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
647. Of twined bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
648. Fireplace	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
649. In center of house	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
651. Pit, 3 inches deep	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
652. Smoke hole in roof center	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
*653. Gabled House	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
654. For winter use	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
657. Ridgepole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
658. Height (feet), 10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
659. Width (feet), 12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
660. Length (feet), 15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
662. Covering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
663. Brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
664. Bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Washo NT29
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	Ad
665. Twined-bark mat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Pine sod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
667. Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Doorway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
669. Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
671. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
673. Fireplace inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
674. Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
675. Smoke hole in roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	°+	+	+	+
678. Twined-rush mat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	°+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat House (nasanovi)														
688. Wiskiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	°+	°-	°+	-	°+	-	+	+	°+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	°+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
692. Grass	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
693. Brush	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
694. Skin	+	-	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
700. Door: on any side	+	+	·	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
702. Of twined bark	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
703. Of twined grass	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
°704. Conical-Type Sweat House	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
713. Cabled-Type Sweat House	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	°-	-	-	-	-	-	-
714. 2 interior posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
715. Ridgepole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
717a. Built against side of hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
718. Roof covering	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721. Earth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
722. Door	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724. Flush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
°727. Heating by: fire inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	°+	°-	-
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	°+	+

NWA 342
NWA 352
NWA 343
NWA 343
515

[p.379]

N 342 constructions changed from domed to conical, as Kelly, 104, suggests, or whether both kinds were built at the same time. I believe house forms were not stable but depended upon the available materials and whim of the builder. Inasmuch as the framework was chiefly willow, dome-shaped houses were probably more common.

W [342] 580-581. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

582. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265): Domed willow shade. At: In old days all Paiutes had was willow half dome or willow half circle with end leaning toward center. There were no flat roofs.

583. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265). Ki: + (Kelly, 105, pl. 18,c); however, my informants said only brush enclosure was known formerly.

587. "Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical." "A very thick thatch of dry pińon needles was applied, and this sometimes covered with earth" (Curtis, 15:70, also pl. 78).

589. K: Picture of Pyramid Lake Paviotso dwelling (Lowie, 204, fig. 6). At: In old days some people would, at times, build no permanent winter camp. PS remembers his family wandering all winter much as they usually did only in summer. He did not remember why, yet thought it was to hunt. Although clothing was scant and often wet, PS did not remember being cold. Nights were spent huddled around a fire with only the shelter afforded by a few sagebrush piled as windbreak. Ki: Dome-shaped winter houses were said to have formerly existed (Kelly, 104).

N [291]

600. Kl, To, Te, Sa, Pa, Tg: House was built of tule "mats" which were made by binding masses of tules between 2 or 3 pairs of sticks. The Tagé made also woven mats.

606. Wd: - (SC).

607a. To: - (LP).

613. At: A ring of willows was sometimes placed around fire to keep grass used to sleep on from catching on fire.

615. At: Paiutes used only tripod-type house after white people came. Wd: Tripod-type house used to be covered with buffalo skins. After buffalo left, grass and tules were used.

622. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264). Ki: Conical houses borrowed from north (Kelly, 104, pl. 18,b). Some denied any shelter besides the shade or windbreak for aboriginal times (Kelly, 106).

628. To: - (LP).

629. Ki: + (Kelly, 104).

N [224] 631. Wd: - (BJ). Informant said buffalo had been seen near Saddle Butte, but Wada never hunted them. Ki: Tule mat sewed and twined (Kelly, 104, pl. 19,c).

633. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264).

636. Wd: - (SC).

640. To: + (BS).

643. Wa: Door was of woven willows, that is, of basketry.

653. Owens Valley: + (Steward): Mountain house used in fall and winter had 2 upright poles and ridgepole.

343

343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonresidential buildings (e.g., cookhouses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, granaries, barns, stables); special characteristics of each; construction; etc. See also:

Stables and stalls 231
Cookhouses 252
Boathouses 504
Latrines 514
Bathhouses 515
Menstrual lodges 841

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pahɛ'"tsiɣ t'a'ɣa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ɣalita kumto'ca.

515 224 789 [343]

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] [177] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 224 756 787 The Antelope chief (al'ɣus kumɔmli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night. you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] Kroeber, Handbook, 573.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lay) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called magi"gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [415] [251] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women cooperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. [252] [415] The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a't'ahi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mends"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. *He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as* to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other cooperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] Op. cit., 12.

[P.399, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224
789

When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

"I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.

"A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777]
[343]

Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (680-759).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

[522]

to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

[787]

224
[136]

Antelope (J7a-7J).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (aswasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [758]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. #6, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
665. Twined-bark mat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Pine sod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
667. Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Doorway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
669. Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
671. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
673. Fireplace inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
674. Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
675. Smoke hole in roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
678. Twined-rush mat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Sweat House (masanovi)														
688. Wikiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
693. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
694. Skin	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
700. Door: on any side	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
702. Of twined bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
703. Of twined grass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
704. Conical-Type Sweat House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
713. Gabled-Type Sweat House	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
714. 2 interior posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
715. Ridgepole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
717a. Built against side of hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
718. Roof covering	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721. Earth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
722. Door	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724. Flush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
727. Heating by: fire inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 342
NWA 343
NWA 343
515
NWA 352

[p.379]

N 342 678. Tg: Although no special storehouse was built, an elevated cache was prepared and covered with a woven sagebrush-bark mat.

686. Ku: + (AL). Wd: - (SC).

Sweat House

N 343 Sweat house: nasanovi (Atsa); navaduva (Kūpa); navagia novi (Tagō).

688. K2: Sweat house is a recent acquisition from northern tribes. Ku: + (AL). GN said old-time Paiutes took hot baths in warm mineral springs, but sweat-house baths were not known. AL denied this and insisted that her grandmother took steam baths and maintained that it was a Paiute institution. GN and AL both were used for some parts of list. Unless their ideas disagree no mention will be made; the reader may assume that all data are from GN or that AL substantiated data, unless a note explains the contrary. To: BS and LP both said that sweat bathing was a recent acquisition but it is now firmly instituted. + (Lowie, 308): "The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory 'naBarinana.'" Pa: - (Curtis, 70). "At Walker lake sudatories were unknown" (Curtis, 169). Tg: Although the sweat house is almost universally used by the Paiute on Owyhee Reservation, DS said the Tagō never had it in old days. The Tagō Paiute learned it from the Warm Springs Indians, the Araitsi, a non-Paiute band. Sweat house first used by Paiute about 60 years ago.

689. Ki: + (Kelly, 202, pl. 19,b).

704. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265, fig. 4). A conical earth-covered semisubterranean sweat house was denied by my informants.

713. Ts: ND had seen a gabled, grass- and earth-covered sweat house at Honey Lake, built against a hillside. Wa: "The sweat house was an earth-covered, conical hut over a shallow excavation. Three forked posts, set respectively in the center and near the rear of the pit, supported a two-piece ridgepole, against which willow poles and slabs of bark were leaned. Heat was generated directly by fire. The sweat bath, instead of being a regularly recurring event, was employed only to relieve actual physical ills" (Curtis, 94). W [343]

727. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

728. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

733. To: + (Lowie, 308).

735. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

744. Ki: Bather prays to sun (Kelly, 203).

745. To: - (LP).

747, 748a. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

750, 751. Ki: "Women never used sweat house" (CW). "Women bathe alone sometimes" (KH). "Women and men sweat together" (BA).

753-759. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

763. Ku: GN insisted that Kūpa menstrual hut existed in pre-white days. He knew that Kuyui had no menstrual hut. N [841]

763,b,c. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC). N 346

764. Paviotso: "The dance house a brush en-

[p.430(2)]